





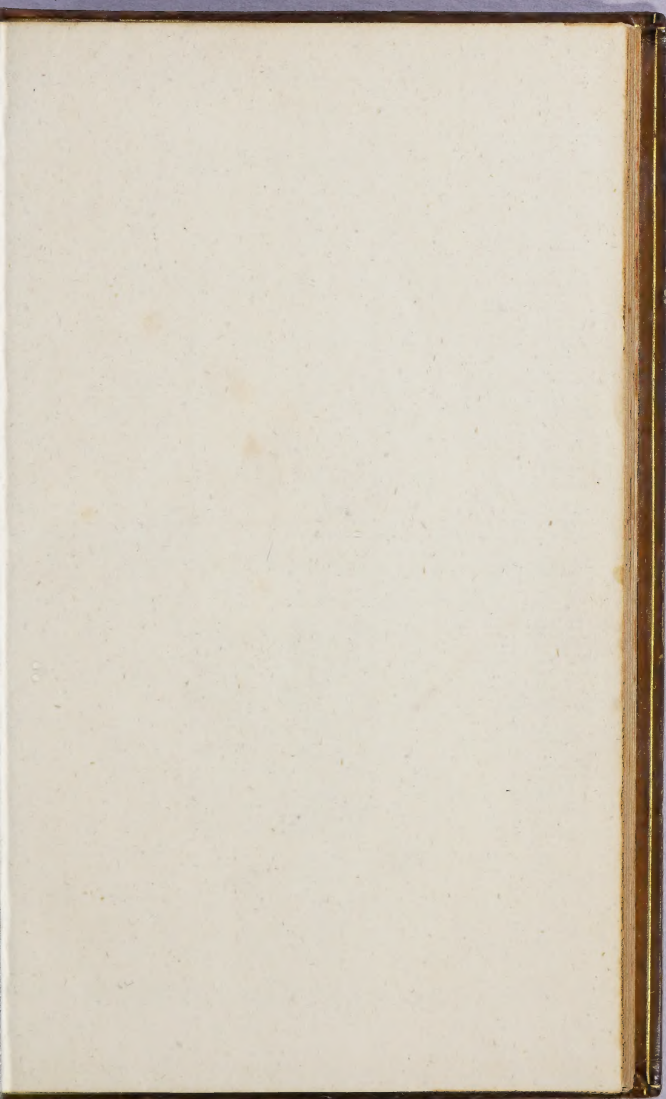
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SIR
WALTER RAWLEIGH
HIS
APOLOGIE

For his voyage
To GUIANA:

By Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight.



LONDON,
Printed by T. W. for HUM: MOSELEY
and are to be sold at the Princes Armes in
St. Pauls Church-Yard 1650.

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Sir Walter Rawleigh
his Apologie.

IF ill successe of this Enterprise of mine had bin without Example, I should have needed a large discourse and many arguments for my Justification, But if the atempts of the greatest Princes of *Europe*, both among themselves and against the great Turk, are in all moderne Histories left to every eye to peruse. It is not so strange that my selfe being but a private man,

and drawing after me the chaines and Fetters whereunto I have been thirteen. yeares tyed in the Tower, being unpardoned and in disgrace with my Soveraigne Lord, have by other mens errors failed in the attempt I undertooke.

For if that *Charles* the Fifth returned with unexampled losse, I will not say dishonour, from *Algire* in *Africa*: If King *Sebastian* lost himselfe and his Army in *Barbary*: If the invincible Fleet and forces of *Spaine* in Eighty Eight were beaten home by the Lord *Charles Howard* Admirall of *England*: If Mr. *Strozzi* the Count *Brizack* the Count of *Vinnoso* and others, with the Fleet of fifty eight sayle and six thousand Souldiers, encountered with far lesse numbers could not defend the *Terceres*. Leaving to speake of a world of other attempts furnished by Kings and Princes. If Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Thomas Baskerville*,

keruile men for their experience and valour as Eminent as *England* had any, strengthned with diuers of her Majesties ships, and fild with Souldiers at will, could not possesse themselves of the Treasure they sought for, which in their view was imbarked in certaine Frigotts at *Puerto Rico*, yet afterward they were repulsd with fifty Negroes upon the Mountains of *Vasques Numius*, or *Sierra de Capira* in their passage towards *Panania*: If Sir *John Norris* (though not by any fault of his) failed in the attempts of *Lysbone* and returned with the losse, by sicknesse and otherwise, of eight thousand men. What wonder is it, but that mine (which is the last) being followed with a company of Voluntiers who for the most part had neither seen the Sea nor the Warres, who, some forty Gentlemen excepted, had we the very scumme of the World: Drunkards, Blasphemers and such others as their Fathers Brothers

A 2

thers and freinds thought it an exceeding good gaine to be discharged of them with the hazard of some thirty forty or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have liv'd a whole yeare so cheape at home: I say what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be present my selfe, nor had any of the Commanders (whom I most trusted) living, or in state to supply my place?

Now, where it was bruted, both before my departure out of *England* and by the most men beleived, that I meant nothing lesse then to go to *Guiana*: but that being once at liberty and in mine owne power, having made my way with some Forraigne Prince I would turne Pyratt and utterly forsake my Countrey. My being at *Guiana*, my returning into *England* unpardoned, and my not takeing the spoile of the Subj. of any Christian Prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that Opinion.

But this is not all: for it hath been given

given out by an hypocritticall Theite who was the first Master of my shipp: And by an ungratefull Youth which waited upon me in my Cabbin, though of honourable worthy Parents: and by others; That I carryed with me out of *England* twenty two thousand peices of twenty two shillings the peice, and theretore needed not, or cared not to discover any Mine in *Guiana*, nor make any other attempt elsewhere: Which Report being carried secretly from one to an other in my ship, and so spread through all the ships in the Fleet which staid with me at *Trenidado* while our Land Forces were in *Guiana*, had like to have been my utter overthrow in a most miserable fashion; For it was consulted when I had taken my Barge and gone a shoare (either to discover or otherwise as I often did) That my ship should have set saile and left me there, where either I must have suffered Famine,

been eaten with wilde beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the *Spaniards* and been flayed alive as others of the *English*, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this Report of Riches, I make this Protestation, That if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly in trust or otherwise, above one hundred peices when I departed *London*, of which I had left forty five peices with my wife, and fifty five I carried with me: I acknowledge my selfe for a Reprobate, a Villaine, a Traitor to the King, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath liv'd upon the earth.

Now where the Captaines that left me in the *Indies*, and Captaine *Baily*, that ran away from me at *Cancerota*, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first, That I lingered at *Pli-mouth*

mouth when I might have gone thence,
and lost a faire wind and time of the
yeare, or to that effect. It is strange that
men of fashion and Gentlemen should
so grossly bely their owne knowledge:
And that had not I lived nor returned to
have made answer to this Faction, yet
all that know us in *Plimouth* and all
that we had to deale withall knew the
contrary. For after I had stayed at the
Isle of *Wight* divers daies; the *Thunder*,
Commanded by Sir *Warram St. Leger*
by the negligence of her Master, was at
Lee in the *Thames*; and after I arrived
at *Plimouth*, Captaine *Pennington* was
not come then to the Isle of *Wight*, and
being arrived there, and not able to
redeeme his Bread from the Ba-
kers, he rode back to *LONDON*
to intreat help from my wife to pay
for it, who having not so much money
to serve his turne, she wrote to Mr.
Wood of Portsmouth and gave him her
word for thirty pounds, which shee
soone

soone after payd him, without which (as *Pennington* himselfe protested to my wife) he had not bin able to have gone the journey: Sir *John Ferne* I found there without all hope of being able to proceed, having nor men nor mony, and in great want of other provision, insomuch as I furnished him by my Cozen *Herbert* with a hundred pounds, having supplied himselfe in *wales* with a hundred pounds before his coming to *Plimouth*: and procured him a third hundred pound from the worthy and honest Deane of *Exeter* Doctor *Sutcliffe*. Captaine *Whitney*, whome I also stayed for, had a third part of his victualls to provide, insomuch as having no mony to help him withall I sold my Plate in *Plimouth* to supply him. *Baily* I left at the *Isle of wight*, whose arrivall I also attended here some ten or twelve daies as I remember, and what should move *Baily* only to leave me as he did at the *Canaries*

ries, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his returne to do me all the wrong he could devise, I cannot conceive; he seemed to me from the begining not to want any thing, he only desired of me some Ordnance and some iron-bound Caske, and I gave it him; I never gave him ill language nor offered him the least unkindnesse to my knowledge: It is true, that I refused him a French Shallop which he tooke in the Bay of *Portingall* outward bound, and yet after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty Crownes ready mony for her if *Baily* had then desired her he might have had her; But to take any thing from the *French*, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things succeeded both against Reason and our best endeavours; So it is most commonly true, that men are the cause of their owne misery, as I was of mine, when I undertooke

undertooke my late enterprife without a pardon for all my Company, having heard it avowed in *England* before they went, that the Commission I had, was granted to a man who was *Non Ens* in law, so hath the want thereof taken from me both Armes and Actions: Which gives boldnesse to every petty Companion to spread Rumours to my Defamation and the wounding of my Reputation, in all places where I cannot be present to make them Knaves and Lyars.

It hath been secondly objected, *That I put into Ireland and spent much time there, taking care to Revivituall my selfe and none of the rest.*

Certainly I had no purpose to see *Ireland* when I left *Plimouth*, but being encountered with a strong Storme some eight Leagues to the Westward of *Scilly*, in which Captaine *Chudleyes* Pinace was suncke, and Captaine *King* thrust into *Bristol*; I held it the Office

fice of a Commander of many ships, and those of divers Saylings and conditions, of which some could Hull and Trye, and some of them beat it up upon a Tack, and others neither able to doe the one nor the other, rather to take a Port and keep his Fleete together, then either to endanger the losse of Masts and Yards; or to have it severed farre asunder, and to be thrust into divers places. For the attendance of meeting them againe at the next Rendezvous, would consume more Time and Victuall, and perchance the weake ships might be set upon, taken, or disordered, then could be spent by recovering a Harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the dissevering of Fleets hath bene the overthrow of many Actions, I could give many Examples, were it not in every mans Knowledge. In the last Enterprize of worth

worth, undertaken by our *English* Nation with three Squadrons of ships, Commanded by the Earle of *Essex*, the Earle of *Suffolke* and my selfe, where was also present the Earle of *Southampton*, If we being storme-beaten in the Bay of *Alcasbar* or *Biscaye* had had a Port under our Lee, that we might have kept our Transporting ships with our men of War, we had in all likelihood both taken the *Indian* Fleet and the *Afores*.

That we staid long in *Ireland* it is true, but they must accuse the Clouds and not me, for our stay there; for I lost not a day of a good Wind: and there was not any Captaine of the Fleet but had Credit or might have had for a great deale of more victuals then we spent there, and yet they had of me fifty Beeves among them and somewhat else.

For the third Accusation, That I landed in Hostile maner at Lancerota
Certainly

Certainly Captaine *Baily* had greater want of matter when he gave that for an excuse of his turning back, for I refer my selfe to Mr. *Barney*, who I know will ever justifie a truth, to whom (when he came to me from Captaine *Baily* to know whether he should land his men with the rest) I made this answer, that he might land them if it pleased him, or otherwise keepe them aboard, for I had agreed with the Governor for a proportion of victuall which I hourly expected: And it is true, that the Governor being desirous for to speake with me with one Gentleman with him with their Rapiers only, which I accepting, and taking with me Leivetenant *Bradshaw*, we agreed: that I should send up an *English* Factor (whose ship did then ride in the Roade) and that whatsoever the Island could yeeld should be delivered at a reasonable rate; I sent the *English* Factor according to our agreement,

ment, but the Governour put it off from one morning to an other, and in the end sent me word, that except I would imbarque my men which lay on the Sea side, *Slanders* were so jealous as they durst not sever themselves to make our Provisions: I did so, but when the one halfe were gotten aboard two of our Centinells forc't, one slaine and the English Factor sent to tell mee that he had nothing for us, whom he still believed to be a Fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and destroyed *Puerto Santo*. Hereupon all the Companies would have marched toward the Towne and have sackt it, but I knew it would not only dislike His Majesty; But that our Merchants having a continuall trade with those Islands, that their Goods would have bin stayed, and amongst the rest, the poor English man riding in the Road having all that he brought thither ashore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof

Hereof I complained to the Governour of the Grand *Canaries*, whom I also desired that we might take water without any disturbance, but instead of answer, when we landed some hundred men, far from any habitation, and in a Desert place of the Island, where we found some fresh water, there Ambush was layd; and one *Fisher* of Sir *John Fernes* ship wounded to death, and more had been slain had not Captaine *Thornhurst* and Master *Robert Hayman* my sonnes Lievtenant, two exceeding valiant Gentlemen, who first made head against them, seconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger* and my Sonne with halfe a dozen more, made forty of them runne away. From hence because there was scarcity of water, we sayled to *Gomarrab*, one of the strongest and well defended places of all the Islands and the best Port: The Towne being seated upon the very Wash of the Sea, at the first entrance

B

of

of our ships, they shot at us, and ours at them, but as soone as I my selfe recovered the Harbour, and had commanded that there should be no more shooting, I sent a Spaniard a shore (taken in a Barque which came from *Cape Blancke*) to tell the Governour that I had no purpose to make warr with any of the Spanish Kings Subjects, and if any harme were done by our great Ordnance to the Towne, it was his fault, which by shooting first gave the occasion. He sent me for answer that he thought we had beene the Turkish Fleet, which destroyed *Puerto Santo*, but being resolved by the Messenger that we were Christians and English, and sought nothing but water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleased to take, if he might be assured that we would not attempt his Towne-Houses, nor destroy the Gardens and fruits; I returned him answer that I would give him my Faith, and

the

the word of the King of Great Brit-
taine my Soveraigne Lord, that the
People of the Town and Island should
not loose so much as one Orange or a
Grape without paying for it, I would
hang him up in the Market-street.
Now that I kept my Faith with him,
and how much he held himselfe bound
unto me: I have divers of his Letters to
shew, for he wrote unto me every day
And the Countesse being of an english
Race a *Stafford* by Mother, and of the
house of *Horn* by the Father, sent me
divers presents of fruits, Sugar, and
Ruske: to whom I returned (because
I would not depart in her debt) things
of greater value; The old Earle at my
departure wrot a Letter to the Spanish
Ambassadør here in *England* how I
had behaved my selfe in those Islands.
There I discharg'd a Barke of the grand
Canaries taken by one of my Pinna-
ces coming from *Cape-Blank* in *Africa*,
and demanding of him what prejudice

he had recieved by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fish to the value of fixe Duckets, for which I gave him eight .

From the *Canaries*, it is said That I sayled to *Cape de Verte* knowing it to be an infectious place, by reason whereof I lost so many of my men ere I recovered the Indies; The truth is that I came no neerer to *Cape de Vert* then *Bravo*, which is one hundred and sixty Leagues off; But had I taken it in my way, falling upon the Coast or any other part of *Guiana*, after the Raines, there is as little danger of infection as in any other part of the World, as our English that trade in those parts every yeare doe well know; There are few places in *England* or in the world neere great Rivers which run through low grounds or neere Moorish or Marsh grounds, but the People inhabiting neare, are at some time of the yeare subject to Feavers, witnes *Woollwich* in *Kent* and all
downe

down the Rivers on both sides, other Infection there is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Affrica*, Except it be when the Easterly wind or Breefes are kept off by some High Mounraines from the Vallies, wherby the ayre wanting motion doth become exceeding unhealthfull as at *Nombre de Dios* and elsewhere. But as good successe admits no Examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir *Francis Drake*, Mr. *John Winter* and *John Tomas*, when they past the Streights of *Malegan*, meeing with a storme which drove *Winter* back, which thrust *John Thomas* upon the Islands to the South where he was cast away, and Sir *Francis* nere a small Island upon which the *Spaniards* landed their cheins & murderers, from *Baldivia*, and he found there *Phillip* an Indian who told him where he was and conducted him to *Baldivia*, wher he took his first prize of Treasure,

and in that ship he found a Pylot called *John Grege* who guided him all that Coast, in which he possesse himselfe of the rest, which Pylot because he should not rob him of his Reputation and knowledge in those parts (desisting the intreaties and teares of all his Company) he set him a shore upon the Island of *Alteguors* to be by them devoured. After which passing by the *East-Indies*, he returned into *England*, and notwithstanding the peace between Us and *Spaine*, he enjoyed the Riches he brought, and was never so much as called to accompt for cutting off *Douly* his head at *Porte St. Julian* having neither Marshall Law nor other Commission availeable. Mr. *Candish* having past all the Coasts of *Chyle* and *Peru*, and not gotten a farthing, when he was without hope, and ready to shape his course by the East homewards, met a ship which came from the *Phillippines* at *Calestorvia*, a
thousand

thousand pounds to a Nutshell. These two in these two Voyages were the Children of Fortune, and much honored; But when Sir *Francis Drake* in his last attempt might have landed at *Cruces*, by the river of *Chyagre* within eight miles of *Panama*, he notwithstanding set the Troups on land at *Nombre de Dios* and received the repulse aforesaid, he dyed for sorrow. The same successe had *Candish* in his last Passage towards the Streights. I say that one and the same end they both had, to wit *Drake* and *Candish*, when Chance had left them to the tryall of their owne Vertues.

For the rest I leave to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or error of mine, the Gold Mine in *Guiana* which I had formerly discovered was not found and enjoyed, for after we had refreshed our selves in *Galleana*, otherwise in the first discovery called *Poet Howard*, where we tarried

ed Captaine *Hastins*, Captaine *Piggott*, and Captaine *Snedall*, and there recovered the most part of our sicke men. I did Imbarque fixe Companies of fifty to each Company in five shippes, to wit, the *Encounter*, Commanded by Captaine *Whitney*, in the *Confidence* by Captaine *Woollastone*, into two Flyboats of my owne, Commanded by Captaine *Samuell King*, and Captaine *Robert Smith*, In a Carvill which Companies had for their Leaders Captaine *Charles Parker*, Captaine *North*, My Sonne, Captaine *Thornhurst*, Captaine *Penjuglous* Lieutenant, and Captaine *Chudlyes* Lieutenant *Prideux*.

At the Tryangle Islands I imbarked the companies for *Orrenoque* between which and *Calliana* I lay a ground twenty four houres, and if it had not been faire weather we had never come
off

off the Coast, having not above two Fathome and a halfe of water : Eight Leagues off from whence, I directed them for the River of *Surniama*, the best part of all that Tract of land between the river *Amazones* and *Orrenoque*, there I gave them order to trim their Boates and Barges; and by the Indians of that place to understand the state of the *Spaniards* in *Orrenoque*, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the entrances or elsewhere; and if they found any Indians there, to send in the little flyboate or the *Carvill* into the river of *Dissebecke*, where they should not faile to find Pilots for *Orrenoque*, for with our great ships we durst not aproach the Coast we having been all of us a ground, and in danger of leaving our Bands upon the shoules before wee recovered the Tryangle Islands as aforesaid; The Biggest Shipp that could Enter the River was the *Encounter*,
who

who might be brought to eleven foote water upon the Bar, we could never understand neither by *Keymis*, who was the first of any Nation that had entered the maine mouth of *Orrenoque* nor by any of the Masters or Marriners of our Fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve yeares for Tobaccho: For the *Chudley* when she came nere the Entrance, drawing but twelve foote, found her selfe in danger and bore up for *Trinidado*.

Now whereas some of my friends have been unsatisfised why I my selfe had not gone up with the Companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction, that besides my want of health and strength, and having not recovered my long and dangerous sickness, but was againe fallen into a Relapse, my ship *Stoalde* and layd a ground at seaventeene foote water, 7 Leagues of the shore, so as the Mr. nor any of my company durst adventure

ture to come neare it, much lesse to fall between the shoules on the south side of the Rivers side, and sands on the North side called *Punto Anegado*, one of the most dangerous places in all the *Indies*: It was therefore resolved by us all, that the five greater ships should ride at *Punto Gallo* in *Trinidado*, and the five lesser should enter the River, For if *Whitney* and *Woollaston* at eleven foote lay a ground three daies in passing up, in what case had I been which drew seaventeene foote, a heavier ship and charged with forty pieces of Ordnance, besides this impossibility, neither would my Sonn nor the rest of the Captaines and Gentlemen have adventured themselves the River (having but one moneths Victualls and being thrust together a hundred of them in a smale Flyboate) had not I assured them that I would stay for them at *Trinidado*, and that no Force should drive me thence, except I were suncke
in

in the Sea or set on Fire by the Spanish Gallions, for that they would have adventured themselves upon any other mans word or resolution, it were ridiculous to beleive.

Having in this sort resolved upon our enterprise, and having given instructions, how they should proceede before and after their entrance into *Orrenoque*, *Keymis* having undertaken to discover the Myne with six or eight persons in *Sir John Fernes* Shallop, I better bethinking my selfe and misliking his determination gave him this order, *viz.*

Keymis, whereas you were resolved after your arrivall into *Orrenoque* to passe to the Myne with my Cousen *Harbert* and six musketteers, and to that end you desired to have *Sir John Fernes* shallop, I doe not allow of that course. because you cannot Land so secretly but that some Indians on the River side may discover you, who giving
knowledge

knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards you may be cut off before you can recover your Boate, I doe therefore advise you to suffer the Captaines and the Companies of the English to passe up to the Westwards of the mountaine *Aio*, from whence you have no lesse then three miles to the Myne, and to lodge and encampe between the Spanish Towne and you, if there be any Town neer it, that being so secured you may make tryall what depth and bredth the Myne holds, and whether or no it answer our hopes. And if you find it Royall, and the Spaniards begin to Warre upon you, then let the Serjeant Major repell them if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can.

But if you find that the Myne be not so rich as it may perswade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his Majesty, that my designe was not Imaginatory but true, though

though not answerable to his Majesties expectation, for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor could.

On the other side, if you shall find that any great number of Souldiers be newly sent into *Orrenoque*, as the *Casique* of *Caliana* told us that there were, and that the Passages be already Forc'd so that without manifest Perill of my sonne, your selfe, and other Captaines, you cannot passe toward the Myne, then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scumme of men you have, and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of our Nation; I my selfe for my weaknes cannot be present, neither will the Company land, except I stay with the ships, the Gallioones of *Spaine* being daily expected. *Pigott* the Sergeant-Major is dead. *Sir Warrham* my Leiftenant, without hope of life,
and

and my Nephew your Sergeant-Major no w but a young man: It is therefore no your judgement that I Rely whom I trust God will direct for the best.

Let me heare from you as soone as you can, you shall find me at *Pundo Gallo* dead or alive, and if you finde not my ships there, yet you shall find their Ashes; For I will fire with the Gallioones if it come to extreimity, But runne away I will never.

That these my Instructions were not followed, was not my fault, But it seemes that the Sergeant-Major, *Keymis* and the rest were by accident forced to change their first resolution, and that finding a Spanish towne or rather a village, set up twenty mile distant from the place where *Antonio Berro* the first Governour by me taken in my first discovery who had attēpted to plant to meet some two Leagues to the Westward of the Mine: They agreed to land and encamp between the
Mine

Myne and the Towne; which they did not suspect to be so neer them as it was, and meaning to rest themselves on the Rivers side till the next day; they were in the night set upon and charged by the Spaniards, which being unlooked for, the Common sort of them were so amazed, as had not the Captaines and some other valiant Gentlemen made a Head and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken and cut in pieces. To repell this force putting themselves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat they were ready to enter the Town, ere they knew where they were; and being then charged againe by the Governour, and foure or five Captaines which lead their Companies; My Sonne not tarrying for my Musketiers run up in the head of a company of Pikes, where he was first shot, and pressing upon a Spanish Captaine called *Erinetta* with his sword;

sword; *Erinetta* taking the small end of his Musket in his hand strucke him on the head with the stock and feld him; whom againe *John Plesington*, my Sonnes Serjeant, thrust through with his Halbert, at which time also the Governour *Diego Palmeque* and the rest of the Spanish Captaines being slaine; and their Companies divided, they betooke themselves into a house, or hold adjoyning to the market place, where they slew and wounded the English at their pleasure, so as we had no way to save our selves; but by firing those houses adjoyning, which done all the Spaniards ran into the bordering Woods, and Hills, keeping the English still waking with perpetuall Alarums.

The town such as it was being in this sort posselt. *Keymis* prepared to discover the Myne, which at this time he was resolved to doe, as appeareth by his Letter to me of his owne hand writing

C hereafter

hereafter inserted ; he tooke with him Captaine *Thornhurst*, Master *William Herbert*, Sir *John Hambden*, and others, but at his first approach neer the banke where he meant to Land, he received from the wood a vollew of shot which slew two of his Company, hurt six others, and wounded Captaine *Thornhurst* in the head, of the which he languished three months after.

Keymis his LETTER Dated
the eight of *January* from
Orrenoque.

ALL things that appertaine to humane condition in that proper nature and sence, that of fate and necessity belongeth unto them, maketh me choose rather with grieve to let you know from me this certaine truth then uncertainties from others ; which is, viz. That had
not

not this extraordinary valour and forwardnesse, which with the constant vigour of mind being in the hands of death his last breath expressed these words. (Lord have mercy upon me and prosper your enterprize) leade them all on, when some began to pause and recoyle shamefully: this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is with his surviving honour.

This Indian Pilot whom I have sent, if there be occasion to use his service in any thing will prove sufficient and trusty: Peter Andrewes whom I have sent with him can better certify your Lordship of the state of the towne, the plenty, the condition of our men, &c. then I can write the same.

We have the Governours servant Prisoner that waited on him in his Bed-chamber, and knows all things that concerned his Master. We find there are foure Refiners Houses in the towne; the best Houses of the towne. I have not seen

one piece of Coyne, or Bullyon, neither Gold or Silver; a small deale of Plate only excepted.

Captain Whitney and Woollastone are but now come to us, and now I purpose (God willing) without delay to visit the Myne, which is not eight miles from the towne, sooner I could not goe by reason of the murmurings, the discords and vexations, wherewith the Serjeant Major is perpetually tormented and tyred, having no man to assist him but my selfe only, things are now in some reasonable order, and so soone as I have made tryall of the Myne, I will seeke to come to your Lordship, by the way of the River. To goe and to search the Channels (that if it be possible) our Ships may shorten their course for Trinidado, when time serves, by those passages; I have sent your Lordship a parcell of scattered papers (I reserve a Carte Loade) one roule of Tobacco, one Tortoyse, and some Oranges and Limmons, praying God to give you strength and health of body,

dy, and a mind armed against all extremities. I rest ever to be commanded this 8. of January, 1617.

Your Lordships
KERMIS.

Now it seemes that the death of my Son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to *Trinidado*) that I was either dead of my first sicknesse, or that the news of my Sonnes death would have hastened my end, made him resolve not to open the Myne, to the which he added for excuse, and I thinke it was true, that the Spaniards being gone off in a whole body, lay in the Woods betweene the Myne and their passage, that it was impossible, except they had bin beaten out of the Country, to passe up the Woody and Craggy Hills without the losse of those Commanders which should have lead them, who had they been slaine, the rest, would easily enough have bin cut in

C 3 pieces

pieces in their retreat; for being in possession of the towne, which they guarded with the greatest part of three Companies, they had yet their handfull to defend themselves from firing, and the daily and nightly Alarums, where-with they were vexed. He also gave forth the excuse that it was impossible to lodge any Companies at the Myne, for want of Viſtuall, which from the towne they were not able to carry up the mountaine their Companies being divided; He therefore as he told me thought it a greater error to discover it to the Spaniards, themselves neither being able to worke it, nor possesse it then to excuse himselfe to the Company, said that he could not find it; all which his fancies when I received, and before divers of the Gentlemen disavowed his ignorance, for I told him That a blind man might find it, by the marks which himself had set down under his hand, and that I told him that his
care

care of loosing so many men in passing through the Woods, was but fained, for after my Sonne was slaine, I knew that he had no care at all of any man surviving, and therefore had he brought to the King but one hundred weight of the oare though with the losse of one hundred men, He had given his Majesty satisfaction, preserved my reputation, and given our Nation encouragement to have returned this next yeare, with greater force and to have held the Country for his Majesty to whom it belonged, and of which himselfe had given the testimony, that besides the excellent ayre, pleasantnesse, healthfulnesse, and riches: it hath plenty of Corne, Fruits, Fish, Fowle, wild and tame, Beeves, Horses, Sheepe, Hogs, Deeres, Coneys, Hares, Tortoysses, Armadiles, Wanaes, Oyles, Hony, Wax, Potatoes, Sugar Canes, Medicaments, Balsamum, Simples, Gums, and what not; but seeing he had followed his

owne advice, and not mine, I should be forced to leave him arguments with the which if he could satisfy his Majesty, and the State, I should be glad of it, though for my part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some losse of men might have gone directly to the place: with that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers dayes; afterward he came to me in my Cabbin, and shewed me a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundell*, to whom he excused himself, for not discovering of the Myne; using the same arguments, and many others which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his Apology; but I told him that he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour or collour in any sort his former folly. He then asked me, whether that were my resolution, I answered, that it was: he then replied in these words, I know
not

not then Sir what course to take; and went out of my Cabbin into his own, in which he was no sooner entred, but I heard a Pistoll goe off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himselfe) to know who shot a Pistoll, *Keymis* himself made answer lying on his Bed, that he had shot it off, because it had been long charged, with which I was satisfied; some half houre after this, the Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap through his heart, and his Pistoll lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himselfe, but the Bullet lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib and went no further. Now he that knew *Keymis*, did also know that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfie any man but my selfe, as no mans opinion from the greatest to the least could have perswaded him to have laid vio-
lent

lent hands on himselfe, neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have said unto me, that he was ignorant of the Place, and knew no such Myne; for what cause had I then to to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge; thus much I have added, because there are some Puppies which have given it out, that *Keymis* flew himselfe because he had seduced so many Gentlemen and others with an imaginary Myne; but as his Letter to me the 8. of *January* proves that he was then resolved to open it, and to take off all these kinds of objections; Let Captaine *Charls Parker*, Captaine *George Ralegh* and Captaine *King* all living and in *England*; be put to their oaths whether or no *Keymis* did not confesse to them coming down the River, at a place where they cast anker, that he could from that place have gone to the Myne in two hours, I say then that if the opening

of the Myne had bin at that time to any purpose ; or had they had had any victualls left then, to bring them away, or had they not been hastned by seeing the King of *Spaines* Letters before they came to my hands, which I am assured *Keymis* had seene who delivered them to me, whereof one of them was dated at *Madriill* the 17 of *March* before I left the River of *Thames*, and with it, three other dispatches with a Commission for the strengthening of *Orrenoque* with 150 Souldiers, which should have come downe the River from the new Kingdome of *Granada* ; and one other 150 from *Puerto Rico* with ten pieces of Ordnance which should have come up the River from the entrance, by which two Troupes they might have bin inclosed, I say had not the rest seene those dispatches, and that having stayed in the River above two months, they feared the houely arrivall of those forces, why had they
not

not constrained *Keymis* to have brought them to the Myne, being as himselfe confesses within two houres march. Againe, had the Companies Commanders but pincht the Governours man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three Gold Mynes and a Silver Myne not above foure miles from the Towne, and given them the names of their possessors; with the reason why they forbare to worke them at that time, and when they left off from working them, which they did aswell because they wanted Negroes, as because they feared least the English, French, or Dutch would have forced them from those being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient strength to defend themselves; But to this, I have heard it said since my returne, that the Governours man was by me perswaded, being in my power, to say that such Mynes there were, when indeed there was no such thing

thing, Certainly they were but silly
fooles, that discovered this subtilty of
Mine, who having not yet by the long
Calenture that weakened me, lost all
my wits which I must have done, if I
had left my reputation in trust with a
Malato, who for a pot or two of Wine,
for a dozen of Hatchets, or a gay suite
of apparell would have confessed, that
I had taught him to speake of Mynes,
that were not in *Rerum natura*, No I
protest before the Majesty of God, that
without any other agreements or pro-
mises of mine, then well usage, he hath
discovered to me, the way to five or
sixe of the richest Mynes which the
Spaniards have, and from whence, all
the Masse of Gold that comes into
Spaine in effect is drawne.

Lastly, when the Ships were come
downe the River as farre as *Carapana's*
Country (who was one of the naturall
Lords) and one that reserved that part
of *Guiana* to her Maje. hearing that the
English

English had abandoned Sr. *Thome*, and left no force in the Country, which he hoped they would have done, hee sent a great Canooe with store of fruits and Provisions to the Captains; and by one of his men which spake Spanish, having as it seemed bin long in their hands; hee offered them a rich Gold Myne in his own Country, knowing it to be the best argument to perswade their stay, and if it please them to send up any one of the English to view it, he would leave sufficient pledges for his safe returne. Master *Leake*, Master *Moleneux* and others offering themselves, which when the greater part refused (I know not by what reason lead) he sent againe, leaving one of his men still aboard to entreate them to tarry but two dayes, and he himselfe would come to them, and bring them a sample of the oare: for he was an exceeding old man, when I was first in the Country some twenty foure yeares since, which

which being also neglected, and the Ships under saile; he notwithstanding sent a Boat after them to the very mouth of the River in hope to perswade them: that this is true, witnesse Captaine *Parker*, Captaine *Leake*, Master *Stresham*, Master *Mauditt*, Master *Moleneux*, Master *Robert Hamon*, Master *Nicholes*, Captaine *King*, *Peter Andrews*, and I know not how many others; but besides his offer also, there hath not been wanting an argument though a foolish one; which was that the Spaniards, had employed the Indians with a purpose to betray our men, but this treason had been easily prevented, if they had stayed the old mans comming; who would have brought them the Gold oare aboarde their Ships, and what purpose could there be of treason when the Guianians offered to leave pledges six for one, yea one of the Indians which the English had aboarde them, whom they found

found in fetters when they tooke the towne of St. Thome could have told them, that the Cassique which sent unto them to shew them the Gold Myne in his Country, was unconquered ; and are enemies to the Spaniard, and could also have assured them, that this Cassique had Gold Mynes in his Country.

I say then, that if they would neither force *Keymis* to goe to the Myne, when he was by his owne confession, within two houres march of it ; to examine from whence these two Ingots of Gold which they brought me, were taken, which they found laid by for Kings *quinto* or fifth part ; or those small pieces of Silver, which had the same marks and stamps ; if they refused to send any one of the Fleete into the Country to see the Mynes which the Cassique *Carapana* offered them ; if they would not vouchsafe to stay two days for the comming
of

of *Carapana* himselfe, who would have brought them a sample of the Gold oare, I say, that, there is no reason to lay it to my charge, that I carryed them with a pretence of Gold, when neither *Keymis* nor my selfe knew of any in those parts: if it had bin to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it, Nay why did I put my life in manifest peril to forgo it? if I had had a purpose to have turned Pyrate, why did I oppose my self against the greatest number of my Company, and was there by in danger to be flaine or cast into the Sea because I refused it?

A strange fancy had it been in me to have perswaded my Sonne whom I have lost, and to have perswaded my Wife to have adventured the 8000.l. which his Majesty gave them for *Sherbone*, and when that was spent, to perswade my Wife to sell her house at *Micham*, in hope of enriching them by

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the Mynes of *Guiana*; if I my self had not seene them with my owne eyes for being old and weakely, thirty years in prison, and not used to the ayre to travell and to watching, it being tedious to one that I should ever have returned and to which by reason of my violent sicknesse, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope, what madnesse cou'd have made me undertake this journey but the assurance of the Myne, thereby to have done his Majestie service, to have bettered my Country by the trade, and to have restored my Wife and Children their Estates; they had lost for that, I have refused all other ways or means, for that I had a purpose to have changed my Master, and my Country, my returne in the state I did returne may satisfie every honest and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am, and it is to me a greater losse then all I have lost.

lost, that it pleaseth his Majestie to be
offended for the burning of a Spanish
towne in *Guiana*; of which these
parts bordering the River *Orrenoque*,
and to the South as farre as the Ama-
zones doth by the Law of Nations be-
long to the Crowne of *England*, as
his Majestie was well resolved when I
prepared to goe thither, otherwise his
Majesty would not have given once
leave to have landed there; for I set it
downe under my hand that I intended
that enterprise and nothing else, and
that I meant to enter the Country by
the River of *Orrenoque*; It was not
held to be a breach of peace neither by
the State here nor the Spanish Amba-
sador who knew it aswell as I, that I
pretended the journey of *Guiana* which
he alwaies held to be a pretence; for he
said it to Master Secretary *Windode* and
to others of my Lords; that if I meant
to sayle to *Guiana*, and had no intent
to invade any part of his Majesties

West Indies nor his Fleets, I should not need to strengthen my selfe as I did, for I should worke any Myne there, without any disturbance and in peace, to which I made answer, that I had set it under my hand to his Majest. that I had no other purpose, nor meant to undertake any thing else; but for the rest, that *Sir John Haukins* in his journey, to *St. John de Loa*, notwithstanding that he had leave of the Spanish King to trade in all parts of the West Indies, and having the Plate Fleete in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of Silver, but kept his faith and promise in all places, was set upon by *Don Henrico de Martines* whom he suffered (to save him from perishing) to enter the Porte; upon *Martins* faith, and enterchanged pledges delivered, he had *Jesus of Lubeck* a Ship of her Majesties of a 1000 tun burnt; had his men slain which hee left on the Land; lost his Ordnance, and all the treasure which

he

he had got by Trade ; what reason had I to goe unarmed upon the Ambassadors promises, whose words and thoughts that they were one, it hath well appeared since then, as well by the forces which he perswaded his Master to send to *Guiana* to encounter me, and cut me off there ; as by his persecuting of me since my returne ; who have neither invaded his Masters Indies, nor his Fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

True it is, that the Spaniards cannot endure that the English Nation should looke upon any part of *America*, being above a fourth part of the whole knowne world ; and the hundred part neither possessed by the Spaniards, nor to them knowne, as *Acosta* the Jesuit in his description of the West Indies doth confesse, and well know to be true : No though the King of *Spaine* can pretend no other title to all that he hath not conquered, then the Popes donation ; for from the

straits of *Megellan* to the river of *Plate*, being a greater territory then all that the Spaniards possesse in *Peru* or *Chile*, and from *Cape St. Augustines* to *Trinidad* being a greater extent of Land then all which he possesses in *Nova Spaine*, or elsewhere, they have not one foote of ground in their possession, neither for the greatest part of it so much as in their owne knowledge.

In *Orrenoque* they have lately set up a Wooden Towne, and made a kind of a Forte, but they have never been able either to Conquer the *Guianians*, nor to reconcile them, but the *Guianians* before their planting, they did willingly resigne all that territory to her Majesty, who by me promised to receive them, and defend them against the Spaniards; and though I were a Prisoner for this last fourteene years, yet I was at the charge every yeare, or every second yeare, to send unto them to keepe them in hope of being relieved.

ved. And as I have said before the greatest of the naturall Lords, did offer us a rich Myne of Gold in his owne Country in hope to ho'd us there; And if this usurped possession of the Spaniards be a sufficient bar to his Majesties right; and that thereby the King of *Spain* calls himselfe King of *Guiana*, why might he not aswell call himselfe Duke of *Brittaine*, because hee tooke possession of *Blewett*, and built a Forte there; and calls himselfe King of *Ireland*; because he tooke possession at *Smerike* and built a Forte there.

If the Ambassadour had protested to his Majesty that my going to *Guiana* before I went would be a breach to the peace, I am perswaded that his Majesty if he had not bin resolved that *Guiana* had been his would have stayd me, but if it be not thought to be a breach of Peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be) because I had no other intent, and went with leave;

but for taking and burning of a Spanish towne in the Country, certainly, if the Country be the King of *Spains*, it had been no lesse a breach of Peace to have wrought any Myne of his, and to have rob'd him of his Gold; then it is now cald'd a breach of peace to take a towne of his in *Guiana* and burne it, and with as good reason might I have bin called a thiefe and a robber of the King of *Spaine*, if the Country be not his Majesties, as I am now pursued for the Invasion; for either the Country is the King of *Spains* or not the Kings; if it be the Kings, I have not then offended; if it be not the Kings, I must have perished, if I had but taken Gold out of the Mynes there, though I had found no Spaniards in the Country.

For conclusion, if we had had any peace with the Spaniards in those parts of the world; why did even those Spaniards, which were now encountered

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in *Guiana*, tye six and thirty English men out of Master *Walls* Ship of *London* and mine back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them a shore; having not so much as a sword, or any other weapon, among them all, and if the Spaniards to our complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the treatie against our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our perill; I trust in God that the word perill shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both Nations; otherwise we must for ever abandon the Indies, and loose all our knowledge, and our Pylotage of that part of the world: if we have no other peace then this; how can there be a breach of peace, which e're the Spaniards with all Nations, and all Nations with them may trade upon their guard?

The readiest way that the Spaniards

ards Ambassadour could have taken, to have stayed me from going to *Guiana*; had bin to have discovered the great practises which I had with his Master against the King my Sovereigne Lord in the first yeare of his Majesties Reigne of Great *Brittaine*, for which I lost my estate and lay thirteene years in the Tower of *London*, and not to urge my offences in *Guiana*; to which his Master hath no title other then his sword, is with which to this day, he hath not conquered the least of these Nations, and against whom contrary to the Catholick profession, his Captains have entertained, and doe entertaine whole Nations of Canniballs; for in a Letter of the Governours to the King of *Spaine* of the eighth of *July*: he not only complaineth that the *Guianians* are in Armes against him, but that ever those Indians which under their noses live, doe in despite of all the Kings edicts

trade

trade with *Los Flamnicos & Engleses*,
enemicos, With the Flemish, and Eng-
lish enemies, never once naming the
English Nations but with the Epi-
theton of an enemy.

But in truth the Spanish Ambassa-
dour hath complained against me to
no other end, then to prevent my com-
plaints against the Spaniards. Who
landing my men in a territory apper-
taining to the Crowne of *England*;
they were invaded and slaine before
any violence offered to the Spaniards;
and I hope that the Ambassadour doth
not esteeme us for so wretched and
miserable a people, as to offer our
throats to their swords without any
manner of resistance; howsoever, I
have said it already, and I will say it
again; that if *Guiana* be not his Ma-
jesties, the working of a Myne there;
and the taking of a towne there; had
been equally perillous, for by doing
the one, I had rob'd the King of *Spaine*
and

and bin a thiefe; and by the other a disturber or breaker of the peace.

*A Letter of Sir WALTER
RAWLEIGH to my
Lord Carevv touching
Guiana.*

BEcause I know not whether I shall live, to come before the Lords, I have for his Majesties satisfaction here set downe as much as I can say, either for mine owne defence, or against my selfe, as things are now construed.

It is true, that though I acquainted his Majesty with my intent to Land in *Guiana*, yet I never made it knowne to his Majesty that the Spaniards had any footing there; neither had I any authority by Patent, to remove them from thence, and therefore his Majesty had no interest in the attempt of *Saint Thome* by any foreknowledge in his Majesty.

But

But knowing his Majesties ritle to the Country to be best, and most Christian, because the naturall Lords did most willingly acknowledge Queene *Elizabeth* to be their Sovereigne, who by me promised to defend them from the Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the Land by force, seeing the Spaniards had no other ritle but force, (the Popes donation excepted) considering also that they had got a possession there divers yeares since my possession for the Crowne of *England*, for were not *Guiana* his Majesties, then might I aswell have bin questioned for a thiefe, for taking the Gold out of the King of *Spains* Mynes, as the Spaniards doe now call me a peace breaker; for, from any territory that belongs to the King of *Spaine*, it is no more lawfull to take Gold, then lawfull for the Spaniards to take Tinne out of *Cornewall*, were this possession of theirs a sufficient Bar to his

his Majesties Right, the Kings of *Spain* may as well call themselves Dukes of *Brittaine*, because they held *Blewet*, and fortified there; and Kings of *Ireland* because they possessed *Smereck* and fortified there, and so in other places.

That his Majesty was well resolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, because the English both under Master *Charles Leigh* and Master *Harcourt* had leave to plant and inhabite the Country.

The *Orrenoque* it selfe, had long ere this had 5000. English in it, I assure my selfe, had not my employment at *Cales*, the next yeare after my returne from *Guiana*, and after that our journey to the Islands hindered me, for those two years after with *Tirones* Rebellion, made her Majesty unwilling that any great number of Ships or men should be taken out of *England*, till that rebellion were ended, and lastly, her Majesties death, my long imprisonment

ment gave time to the Spaniards to set up a towne of sticks covered with leaves of trees upon the banke of *Orronogue*, which they call *St. Thome*, but they have neither reconciled nor Conquered any of the *Cassiques* or naturall Lords of the Country, which *Cassiques* are still in armes against them, as by the Governours Letter to the King of *Spaine*, may appeare: That by landing in *Guiana* there can be any breach of peace, I thinke it (under favour) impossible, for to breake peace where there is no peace, it cannot be; that the Spaniards give us no peace there; it doth appeare by the Kings Letters to the Governour, that they should put to death all those Spaniards and Indians that trade, *Con los Engleses Enemigos* with English enemies: yea those very Spaniards which we encountred at *St. Thome*, did of late years murther six and thirty of Master *Hales* men of *London*, and mine, who landed

landed without weapon, upon the Spaniards faith to trade with them, Master *Thorne* also in *Tower-street* in *London* besides many other English were in like sort murthred in *Orrenoque*, the yeare before my deliverie out of the *Tower*.

Now if this kind of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies, betweene us and the Spaniards, but if this be cruell Warre and hatred, and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt; Againe, how doth it stand with the greatnesse of the King of *Spaine*, first to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then having failed, to call us peace breakers: for to be an enemy and a peace breaker in one and the same action is impossible.

But the King of *Spaine* in his Letters to the Governour of *Guiana*, dated at *Madrell* the 29 of *March*, before we left the *Thames*, calls us *Engleses enemies*

migos

migos, English enemies,

If it had pleased the King of *Spaine* to have written to his Majest. in seaven months time, for we were so long in preparing, and have made his Majesty know, that our landing in *Guiana* would draw after it a breach of peace, I presume to thinke, that his Majesty would have staied our enterprise for the present.

This he might have done with lesse charge, then to leavy three hundred souldiers and transport ten pieces of Ordnance from *Portarico*, which souldiers added to the Garrison of *St. Thome*: had they arrived before our comming, had overthrowne all our raw companies, and there would have followed no complaints.

For the maine point of landing neer *St. Thome*, it is true, that we were of opinion, that we must have driven the Spaniards out of the towne, before we could passe the thick woods upon the

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mountaines

mountaines of the Myne, which I confesse I did first resolve upon, but better bethinking my selfe, I reserved the taking of the towne, to the goodnesse of the Myne, which if they found to be so rich, as it might perswade the leaving of the Garrison, then to drive the Spaniards thence, but to have burnt was never my intent, neither could they give me any reason why they did it, upon their returne I examined the Serjeant-Major and *Keymis* why they followed not my last directions for the triall of the Myne before the taking of the towne, and they answered me, that although they durst hardly, goe to the Myne leaving a Garrison of Spaniards, between them and their Boats, yet they offended their latter directions, and did Land, betweene the towne and the Myne.

And that the Spaniards without any manner of parley set upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them

Perros

Perros Ingleses, & by Skirmishing with them, they drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were, so that if any peace had bin in those parts, the Spaniards first brake the peace, and made the first slaughter, for as the English could not but Land to seeke the Myne, being come thither to that end, so being first reviled, and charged by the Spaniards, they could doe no lesse then repell force by force, lastly it is a matter of no small consequence to acknowledge that wee have offended the King of *Spaine* by landing in *Guiana*.

For first it weakens his Majesties title to the Country or quits it; Secondly, there is no King that hath ever given the least way to any other King or State in the traffick of the lives or goods of his Subjects, to wit in our case, that it shall be lawfull for the Spaniards to murder us, either by force or treason, and unlawfull for us to

E 2 defend

defend our selves and pay them with their owne Coyne, for this superiority and inferiority is a thing which no absolute Monarch ever yeilded to, or ever will.

Thirdly, it shews the English bears greater respect to the Spaniard, and is more doubtfull of his forces, then either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts of the Indies with not being questioned at their returne, yea at my owne being at *Plimouth*, a French Gentleman called *Florry* went thence with foure saile, and three hundred Land men, with Commission to land and burne, and to sack all places in the Indies that he could master, and yet the French King hath married the daughter of *Spaine*.

This is all that I can say, other then that I have spent my poore estate, lost my sonne, and my health, and endured as many sorts of miseries, as ever man did, in hope to do his Majesty acceptable

ceptable service ; And have not to my understanding committed any hostile act, other then entrance upon a territory belonging rightly to the Crowne of *England*, where the English were first set upon and slaine by the usurping Spaniards, I invaded no other parts of the Indies, pretended by the Spaniards.

I returned into *England* with manifest perill of my life, with a purpose not to hold my life, with any other then his Majesties grace, and from which no man, nor any perill could dissuade me ; To that grace, and goodnesse, and Kinglynesse I referre my self, which if it shall find that I have not yet suffered enough, it yet may please to adde more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life.

Sir Walter Rawleigh his Answer
to some things at his
Death.

I Did never receive any direction from my Lord Carew to make any escape, nor did I ever tell Stukely any such thing. I did never name my Lord Hay and my Lord Carew to Stukeley in other words or sence, then to my honourable friends, among other Lords. I did never shew unto Stukely any Letter, wherein there was 10000 named or any one pound, only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his absence. I never had Commission from the French King, I never saw the French Kings hand or seale in my life. I never had any plot or practise with the French directly or indirectly, nor with any other Prince or State unknowne to the King. My true intent was to goe to a Myne of Gold in Guiana

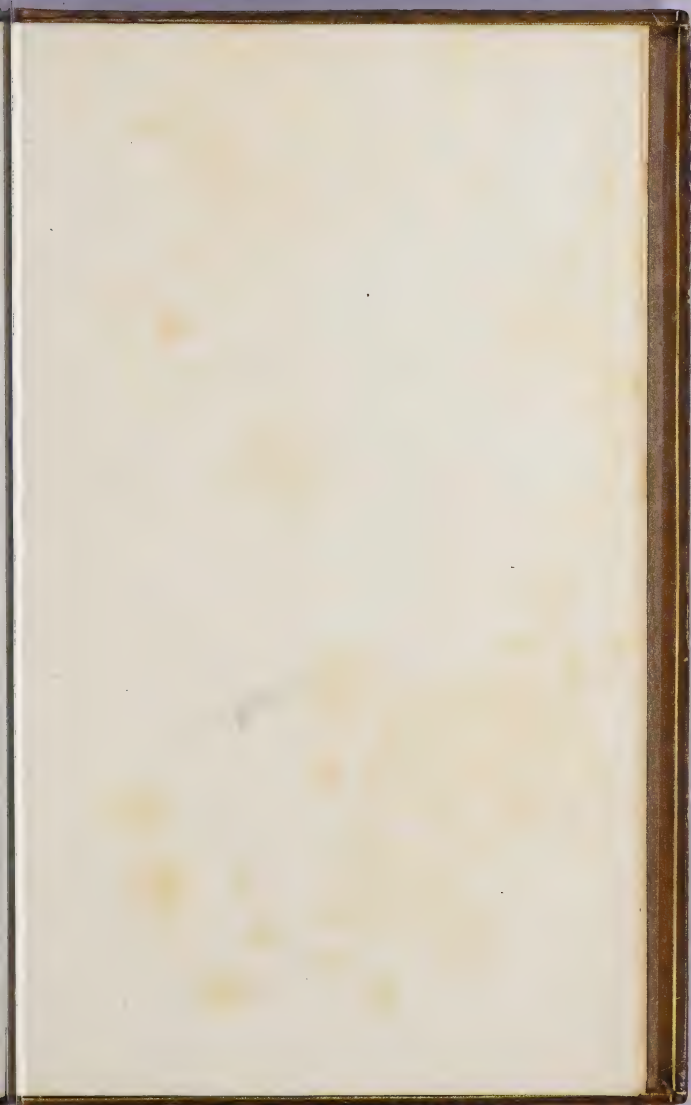
Guiana, it was not fained, but it is true, that such a Myne there is within three miles of St. Thome, I never had in my thought to goe from Trinidado, and leave my Companies to come after to the savage Island, as Hatby Fearne hath falsly reported. I did not carry with me an hundred pieces, I had with me sixty, and brought back neer the said number, I never spake to the French Manering any one disloyall word, or dishonourable speech of the King; nay if I had not loved the King truly, and trusted in his goodnesse somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death.

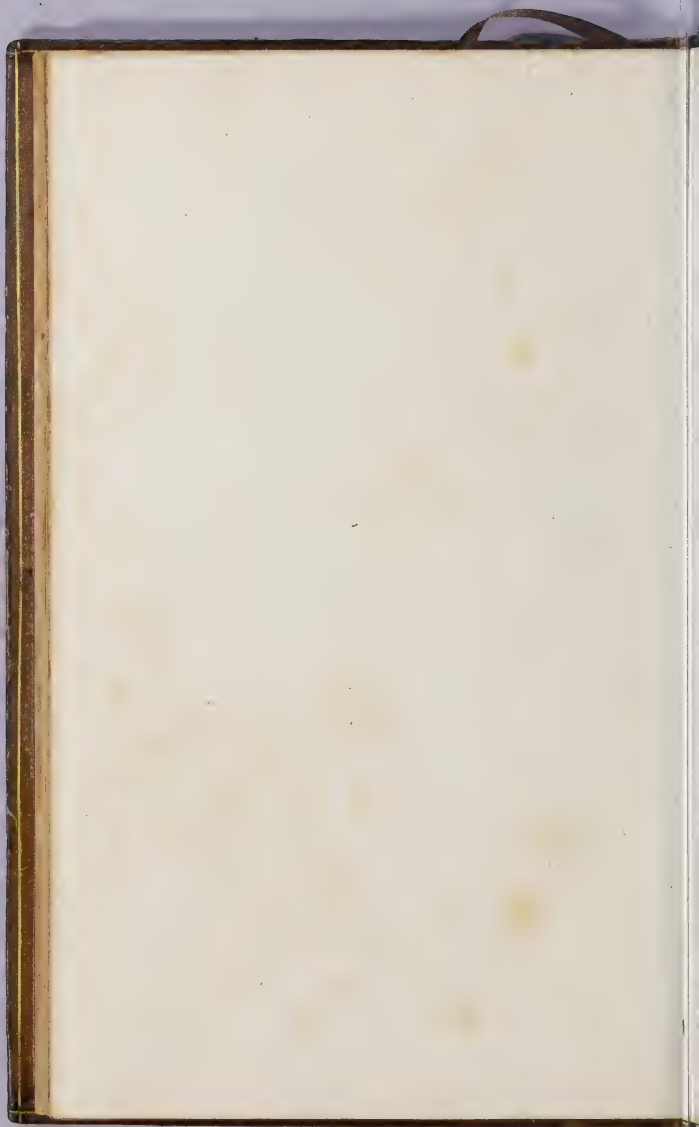
These things are most true as there is a God, and as I am now to appeare before his tribunall seate, where I renounce all mercy, and salvation, if this be not the truth. At my death

W. R.

FINIS.







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